THE FACTS ON THE CUBAN INVASION—AND WHERE THE BLAME LIES . . . P. 3

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WELFARE AND JOBLESS WAIT

The President's Rx for economic slump: Arms and space $$

By Russ Nixon
Special to the Guardian

WASHINGTON

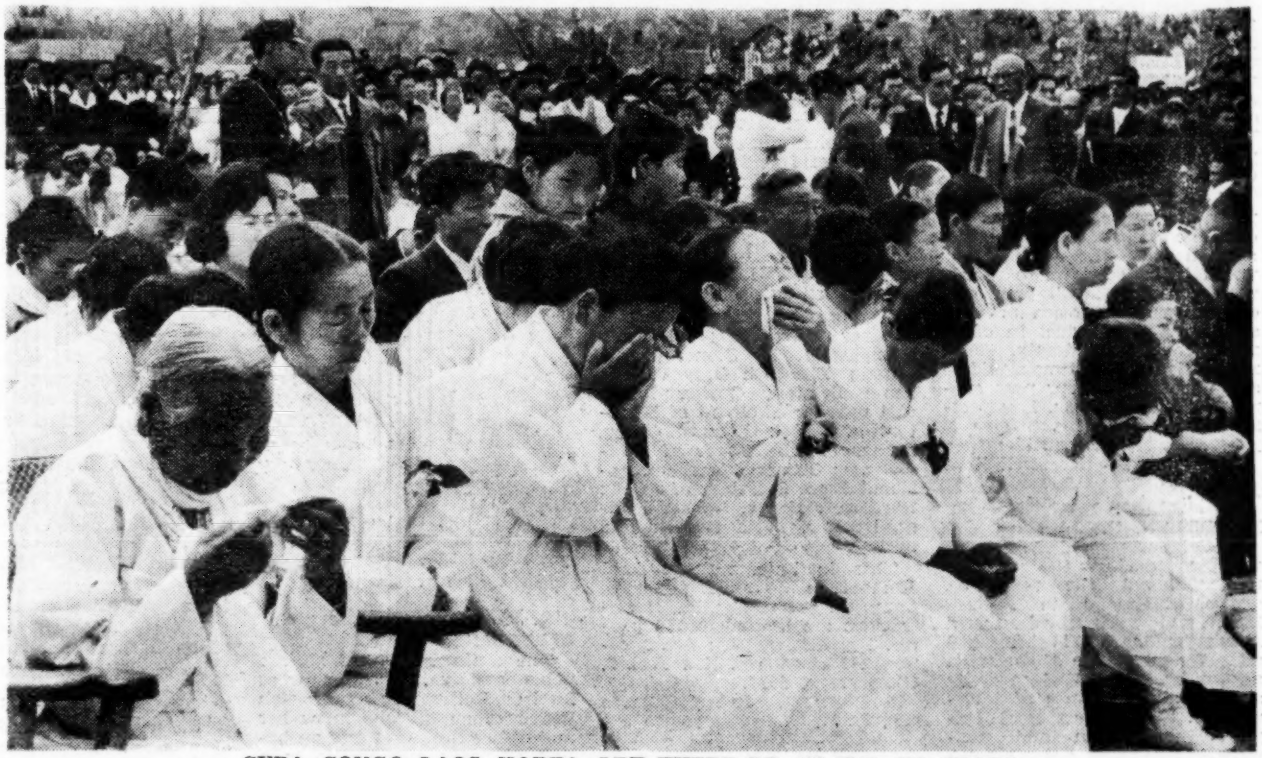
INCREASED military and space spending, rather than a program of increased welfare and public works and a tax cut, now appears likely to be the foundation of President Kennedy's plan for economic recovery.

The Labor Dept. reported unemployment in mid-April at 4,962,000, a decline of 535,000 from the previous month. But Dr. Walter W. Heller, Kennedy's chief economic adviser, said this was a seasonal improvement and not a clear sign by itself of economic recovery. Other indications, however, including a strong pick-up in the Federal Reserve Board index of industrial production, suggest that the recession has passed its low point and recovery has begun. Most uncertain, however, is its speed, strength, and duration.

While total unemployment declined, the seasonally adjusted jobless rate was still 6.8% in April. Long-term unemployed—those jobless 15 weeks or more—rose 266,000 to a postwar peak of 2,128,000. There was no reduction in the number of "substantial labor surplus areas," two-thirds of the country's major industrial areas remaining in that condition in spite of reported business recovery. There was no prospect of full employment.

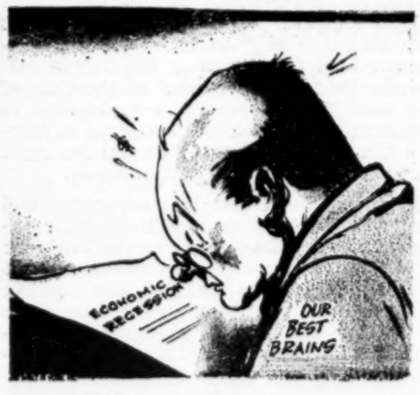
DELAYED LOOK: At his May 6 press conference Kennedy said his promised "second look" at the economic situation would be completed by the end of the month. When he sent his anti-recession program to Congress on Feb. 2, the President said he would review the econ-

(Continued on Page 8)



CUBA, CONGO, LAOS, KOREA: LET THERE BE AN END TO TEARS

This photo of the grieving mothers of 12 students killed in anti-Rhee demonstrations in Masan, Korea, in 1960 (see p. 6) was taken at a memorial service last March. The handwriting is on the wall for the dividers and the spoilers from the white world, but still they seek to hold back the tide of history.



Walt Partymiller, York Gazette and Daily

We should be able to solve that!

CELLER-CLARK BILLS GET NO BLESSING

Civil rights? White House says no laws in '61

By Joanne Grant

WITH THE INTRODUCTION in Congress of a six-bill civil rights package May 8 the White House openly acknowledged what has been a tacit understanding for months—that President Kennedy does not intend to push for civil rights legislation this year.

The day after the bills were introduced by Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) and Sen. Joseph Clark (D-Pa.), White House press secretary Pierre Salinger said: "The President has made it clear that he does not think it is necessary at this time to enact civil rights legislation."

The silence of the President himself and the bluntness of the Salinger statement were passed over by newspaper columnists who had long known that the Kennedy plan was to rely on Presidential directives and Dept. of Justice moves for the time being. Several said that the President's position was a question of timing and tactics, and repeated the argument that a drive for civil rights legislation now would endanger the President's other legislative aims.

A DISAGREEMENT: Syndicated columnist Doris Fleeson said that a civil rights struggle now would allow the Southern conservative coalition to re-form and thus make it difficult for Southern moderates to side with the President on other measures. "This point of view was presented to Negro leaders during the two months since the new bills were drafted," she said. "The administration believes it has their agreement, though they will of course declare support for the legislation."

At least one Negro leader indicated much less agreement. Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, called the failure to push for legislation "an offering of a cactus bouquet to Negro parents and their children on the seventh anniversary [May 17] of the Supreme Court

(Continued on Page 10)

FUND FOR SOCIAL ANALYSIS INVESTIGATED

Un-Americans turn guns on academic freedom

DEFENDERS OF academic freedom were being called to action last week against an investigation of the Fund for Social Analysis by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. An undisclosed number of persons connected with the Fund are under subpena to appear in Washington May 22 and 23.

Both the New York Council to Abolish the Un-American Committee and the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee have attacked the hearing as violating the freedom of scientific inquiry and scholarship. The latter organization has petitioned Congress to ask the committee to cancel the hearings.

RIGHT TO KNOW: The Fund is an informal private association formed in 1958 to provide grants-in-aid "for the encouragement of research into questions of Marxist theory and its application."

A statement by five members of the Fund's Awards Committee charges that "the present harassment . . . is aimed directly at the liberty of thought and right to knowledge which are basic for all academic freedom. We are confident that the academic community which has evinced such a courageous and widespread resistance to intimidation by the HUAC will realize that this latest attack concerns all those interested in freedom of inquiry and opinion." The statement is signed by Barrows Dunham, Irving Kaplan, Harry Magdoff, Russ Nixon and Annette Rubinstein.

THEY WANT A LIST: Those subpenaed include these five as well as other members of the Awards Committee and a number of scholars who have received grants-in-aid. In addition, the Un-American Committee has demanded a list of the Fund's donors, a list of applications for grants and minutes of meetings.

The Fund's work has been widely publicized on most university campuses and in learned periodicals. Publicly announced awards have been made to Prof. Paul A. Baran, Dr. Herbert Aptheker, Prof. William Appleman Williams, Prof. Gordon K. Lewis, Dr. Bernice Shoul and graduate student Martin J. Sklar.

In this issue

GOSHAL IN AFRICA
Report to Readers . . . .p. 2
THE OSLO CONFERENCE
The Paulings report . . .p. 4
INVADER'S PORTRAIT
The Cuba fiasco. . . . . .p. 5
SOUTH KOREA TODAY
New explosion ahead . .p. 6
HO CHI MINH SPEAKS
Anna Louise Strong. . . .p. 7
TWO MEN IN CHAINS
See the Spectator . . . .p. 12

THE MAIL BAG

Advice for Adlai

The following letter was sent last month by artist Rockwell Kent to Adlai Stevenson, chief U.S. delegate to the United Nations:

Dear Mr. Stevenson:

I believe that I may safely say that the perhaps millions of Americans who had believed you to be a staunch supporter of truth and justice as properly basic to American policy are dismayed by your support in the United Nations of the present policy of our government toward Cuba.

If we may trust the press reports of your reluctance to accept the Ambassadorship unless assured that the policies you would be called upon to uphold were consistent with your own convictions, your present presumably enforced conduct in office must trouble you deeply. Your resignation at this time would be a vindication of your past supporters' belief in you. I respectfully suggest that you give it your most serious consideration.

Rockwell Kent

Prophetic words

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

"[We] surrounded Cuba with warships during the months that followed the revolution against Machado in August, 1933, and maintained armed forces in Havana harbor until after the conclusion of the trade agreement. . . . [We] carefully avoided all semblance of intervention. Nevertheless [we] employed recognition and non-recognition as weapons to change the political situation. And now (1936) Washington has assumed the role of interpreter of public opinion in Cuba by announcing its own satisfaction with the existing regime in Cuba and declaring that it has the overwhelming support of the Cuban people." (Pp. 426-7, **A Program for Modern America,** Harry W. Laidler, Thos. Y. Crowell, N.Y., in the mid-Thirties.)

"Let any Latin American state attempt to establish a socialist or communist government and the fat will be in the fire." (Pp. 162-3, **Preface to Chaos,** C. Hartley Grattan, Dodge Pub. Co, 1936.)

Veni Vidi

For new directions

NEW YORK, N.Y.

It is rare these days that concerned people have the opportunity to sit down together and spend a full week in discussing the directions in which we are going, and to approach international issues in an atmosphere of truth. Such a week is being sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee. The theme will be "Search for New Directions." For six days, people of all ages, backgrounds, and convictions will get together in a spirit of friendship and intellectual search. In small discussion groups each morning, stimulated but not limited by the contributions of people with special experience in a variety of fields, they will share their thinking on crucial issues.

Resource people will include Eleanor Roosevelt; Norman Thomas; I. F. Stone; A. J. Muste; Elizabeth Gray Vining; Anna Brinton, Quaker leader and member of Board of Directors of AFSC; Richard Gregg, author of **The Power of Non-violence;** Stewart Meacham, national Peace Secretary of AFSC; Norman Whitney, Quaker leader, lecturer, world traveler and author.

This institute will be held June 23 to 30 at Sunnybrook Camp, in Echo Lake, Pa. Registrations are limited to 150 people. For information: AFSC office, 237 Third Ave., New York 3, GRamercy 3-5998.

Robert Gilmore

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

A device that looks like a pup tent may protect children up to four years from the effects of chemical and biologic warfare, Col. George D. Rich of the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization, Battle Creek, Mich., explains that the protector consists of an aluminum frame with vinyl plastic covering, two large filter pads, clear plastic windows, and a flap that can be rolled up to put bottles and toys inside.

—Modern Medicine, April 3

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week J. S., Los Angeles, Calif.

Courtesy sub

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Your editorial in the April 3 issue re President Kennedy's favorite book, **Melbourne,** recalls that a recent issue of **Life** cited a long list of publications read by the President, testifying to his allegedly voracious reading habits.

Inasmuch as the GUARDIAN was prominent by its absence from the list, I would like to donate $5 for a courtesy subscription to the President.

Anonymous

Non-violent means

NEW YORK, N.Y.

If 2% of a country's conscripts refused service, that country would be saved from war, Albert Einstein told us in 1932.

In a recent column, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt urged that we consider "living for our country" instead of dying for it.

Would it not add to the morale of the valiant Peace Marchers at home and abroad to broadcast these utterances?

A speaker before a large audience at 33rd St. and Park Ave. April 2 urged non-registration and withholding of taxes among other non-violent personal means of combatting the warmongers and makers.

War Objector, World War I

A model UN

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

During April, the University of Minnesota was host to the 15th annual Model United Nations Conference of this region. Students from 35 colleges in eight states participated, representing the 99 UN countries.

Significant outcomes were the admission of the People's Republic of China into the UN, replacing Nationalist China; and the recognition of the Algerian provisional government, and its admission into the UN. Both measures passed by substantial margins.

Name Withheld

Belsky, London Daily Herald

"I wonder if you could alter the guided missiles — Amy's joined the nuclear disarmers."

Mildred Rothenberg

CLEVELAND, O.

The untimely loss of such a noble and valiant woman as Mildred Rothenberg must weigh heavily upon all who knew her and of her tireless efforts on behalf of peace and justice in a strife- and tension-weary world.

Mil was an unyielding fighter and respected leader in the Rosenberg defense as well as the continuing struggle to secure justice for Morton Sobell. Rose Sobell flew to Cleveland to join with the hundreds present at the memorial services for Mildred on April 28.

She was an outstanding journalist and publicity director for the Cleveland Branch of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Mil's intelligence and understanding and strength of character are clearly reflected in her three lovely daughters, whose maturity and courage at this time of loss are also a tribute to their father Don. Messages of sympathy can be sent to the family at 3265 Euclid Heights Boulevard, Cleveland Heights 18, Ohio.

Norman and Netta Berman

Marietta Louise Hunt

PORTLAND, ME.

I'm writing of Marietta Louise Hunt of Portland. She was, I presume, in her late 70s, but no one thought of her age. We thought she would be around always.

In her efforts to prod (she did it, oh--so-gently) or cajole her friends into greater efforts on behalf of progressive causes she was relentless.

An alumna of two hard-to-get-into Eastern colleges, she was a librarian by career, a fighter for the underdog by nature.

She founded the Maine chapter of Americans for Progressive Action and, later, the Progressive Party of Maine.

We here in Maine will always remember her as a good counselor and—above all—a friend.

Ray Gailey

More power

LACLU, ONT.

It's wonderful news that you are helping to get **Listen Yankee** to American readers. It's really powerful.

A. Lamb

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

ASST. SECY. OF STATE for the Far East Dean Rusk told the China Institute, spearhead of the powerful China Lobby, that the U.S. would not treat with China in the UN or elsewhere since it is "a colonial Russian government"; promised more aid to Chiang Kai-shek; strongly hinted at U.S. support for a Chiang invasion of the mainland . . .

Singapore reports said the U.S. was building up Thailand as a war base against China. Associated Press from Washington reported the Burmese government had appealed for diplomatic help in getting rid of armed Chinese Nationalist troops within its borders, supplied by "a steady flow of arms smuggled . . . from Thailand." A U.S.-Franco-British military conference in Singapore (the first time, noted the New York **Times,** the U.S. has conferred formally with Southeast Asia powers) decided to step up the war in Indo-China. The U.S. denied reports it was planning air bases in Malaya.

—From the National Guardian, May 23, 1951

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REPORT TO READERS

Our world travelers

AS WE GO TO PRESS with this issue of the GUARDIAN, our Foreign Affairs Editor, Kumar Goshal, starts off on a three-month assignment abroad which will take him to Africa and Asia on the outward journey; and Israel and Italy on the return. He is stopping briefly in London this week and plans to pass through Paris and perhaps pay a short visit to Geneva and the 14-nation Laos conference enroute to Africa. In Africa he will go first to Guinea, then Ghana and as deeply into the troubled areas of Africa as he may be permitted to penetrate. Later he will revisit his native India and then go to Bangkok, on the Thai border of Laos.

MEANWHILE, FROM HIS HAVANA BASE 90 miles from the country which banished him in 1955, our Editor-in-Exile, Cedric Belfrage, will undertake some fact-finding travels in Latin America. We want him to be able to spend ample time in Brazil, where a new president is confronted with raising living standards for a population some 20,000,000 of whom now exist on less than $100 a year. Another port of call should be Venezuela, where some of South America's greatest oil wealth exists side by side with some of the continent's most abject poverty.

FOR GOSHAL, THIS SUMMER of reporting from the areas of the world shaking off the yoke of colonialism is the resumption of a career interrupted a dozen years ago when he joined the GUARDIAN staff, giving our readership the benefit of his vast first-hand knowledge of the world around us—but limiting his mobility largely to the well-trod path between his GUARDIAN desk and the United Nations. On his return from this summer's travels, he will undertake a cross-country speaking tour for the GUARDIAN and plans to write a book before the year is out which should be a most satisfying sequel to his **People in Colonies.**

FOR BELFRAGE, HIS VANTAGE POINT in Havana offers him the golden opportunity to compare progress or the lack of it elsewhere in Latin America with that of Cuba under its new revolutionary government. Readers have complimented the GUARDIAN on "good planning" in having Belfrage in Havana at the time of the invasion. It was most assuredly not part of our planning to have him there for an invasion; we not only did not want to foresee an invasion, but quite honestly felt that no one in his right mind would try one, knowing the temper of the Cuban people.

So let's call it a lucky break, then, that this newspaper and its readers have benefitted uniquely by good and trustworthy reporting from Cuba through the period leading up to the invasion; and that we had one of the very few on-the-scene reporters there at the historic denouement. Since we don't think any new invasion attempts are in the immediate offing, we think we can now spare our battle-scarred Editor-in-Exile for the assignment we originally discussed with him, that of observing how **Fidelismo** is striking the rest of Latin America.

WHILE WE ARE PINNING BOUQUETS on our far-faring correspondents, we think Anna Louise Strong has earned a pair of orchids for her timely interviews with the Pathet Lao leader Souphanouvong (May 1) and on page 7 of this issue, with Ho Chi Minh, premier of Viet Minh. When peace and progress finally prevail in Southeast Asia, it will be because of the determination and leadership of these two men. Yet only in the GUARDIAN, of all the U.S. press, has one been able to learn what these two people's leaders are planning, from their own lips.

IF YOU ARE WONDERING how the GUARDIAN can afford to have staff correspondents orbiting the earth in this manner, we were just about to bring this matter up. ALS is on her own, of course, one of the world's most indefatigable free lance correspondents. Kumar Goshal's air ticket, which is literally six feet long with innumerable tags and affixtures appended thereto, has cost a pretty penny; and even with living off the land, his upkeep enroute must be our concern. Belfrage's travels will not be so far and wide, but they too must be financed by the GUARDIAN and its readers.

It has been reckoned that it cost each U.S. individual some $2.60 for Alan Shepard's 15-minute orbit from Florida to the Bahamas. We guarantee far wider orbiting by Belfrage and Goshal for far less money. If you think their travels will pay dividends in honest, effective first-hand reporting of the great stirrings of our time toward human fulfillment, a dollar or two in an envelope is the best way we can think of to say so.

—THE GUARDIAN

THE CIA'S 'GUATEMALA SOLUTION'—I

Cuba: The real invasion facts and who must bear the blame

By Robert E. Light
First of a series

BIT BY BIT the story behind the unsuccessful invasion of Cuba April 17-19 has come to light. It has poured from the mouths of Cuban exiles eager to document their deception by Washington. It has oozed from the wounded egos of Washington officials who want to absolve themselves. It has been leaked by other leaders who want to minimize their roles.

The story is sordid and frightening. It is bipartisan: Operation Pluto was conceived by Eisenhower's Republican administration and executed by Democratic President Kennedy. Despite the tendency to make the CIA the scapegoat, the final responsibility rests with President Kennedy.

Before the President took office he knew of the plan. He met continually with military and civilian aides for advice and briefing. He ordered revisions to cover up U.S. involvement. When it came to a starting point, he signaled the green light to go ahead.

WHO WAS INVOLVED: Also involved in the project were Gen. Lyman Lemnitzer and Adm. Arleigh Burke of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; top officials of the State and Defense Department; White House advisers; UN Ambassador Adlai Stevenson; Sen. J. W. Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee —as well as CIA officials. Some were brought in only for an opinion; others were in it all the way. Some pushed the plan fervently; others had reservations. But none save Fulbright opposed the idea of an invasion of Cuba organized and financed by the U.S.

The political stupidity must be credited to the White House, but the operational blunders belong to the CIA. President Kennedy based his decision on CIA estimates of the situation in Cuba. That an intelligence agency could be so misinformed—that it could believe that Cubans were ready to rise up against Premier Castro when any casual tourist could report that he had overwhelming support—raises monumental doubts about the information which helps determine U.S. foreign policy. The casualties in the Cuba fiasco were light. But future U.S. actions founded on such misinformation could mean a world-wide holocaust.

A BLISTERING CALL: When the extent of the April 17 disaster could no longer be hidden, top Washington figures scurried to get out from under. The Joint Chiefs of Staff leaked a story that they had not drawn up the military plan. But Defense Secy. McNamara went out of his way at a press conference to confirm the Pentagon's participation.

The New York **Times** reported from anonymous sources that Secy. of State Dean Rusk and Under Secy. Chester Bowles had advised against the plan. According to **Newsweek** (May 1), President Kennedy "called Rusk and blisteringly reminded him that he had not offered such advice at the time."

Newsweek further said that "Bowles was handled by brother Bobby [Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy], who in a personal confrontation jabbed his finger at the Under Secretary's chest and said: 'I understand you advised against this operation. Well, let me tell you something as of right now. You did not. You were for it.' "

STEVENSON'S ROLE: With all the cover-up, only Stevenson remained exposed, unable to hide the naked lies he had spoken at the UN. Although he knew and approved of the plan, he had had only a small say in it. He was cast as the used-car salesman, left to face an irate customer whose car collapsed as he drove out of the lot.

The decision to overthrow Castro was made in 1959 by the Eisenhower Administration. When Castro came to the U.S. in April, 1959, he talked for three hours with Vice President Richard Nixon. After the talk, **U.S. News & World Report** (May 8, 1961) reported, "Nixon wrote a memorandum evaluating Castro as a captive of Communism." Others in the Administration were not as certain that the U.S. could not do business with the new Cuban Premier.

By the end of 1959 the doubts were banished and the National Security Council ordered the CIA to organize a "Guatemala Solution." The CIA was instructed to promote disaffections, organize exiles, train a military force and plan an invasion. Money was no barrier.

KENNEDY BRIEFED: The operation was in full swing by the spring of 1960; the invasion was set for last November. But President Eisenhower thought it proper to check with President-elect Kennedy. He briefed his successor on the plan. Although Kennedy did not object, Drew Pearson reported that he "seemed taken aback." Eisenhower delayed the invasion until the new President could take office.

President Kennedy's first announcement after election was the reappointment of Allen W. Dulles as director of the CIA. He also asked his own "task force" to reexamine and reevaluate the invasion plan. He asked the Joint Chiefs of Staff to review the military aspects.

Dozens of meetings followed. Opinions were sought from various top officials and aides. Only Sen. Fulbright spoke against the plan. Drew Pearson reported (May 9) that Under Secy. of State Bowles "filed a memo opposing the entire operation from the first, but there is no evidence it was given to President Kennedy."

Adm. Burke and Gen. Lemnitzer approved the military plan. They said they thought the operation was "marginal" but it had a good chance of success.

CIA ARGUMENT: By April CIA officials pleaded for a go-ahead sign. They argued that (1) the Castro government was growing stronger militarily; (2) the Guatemalan government wanted to get rid of the training bases, which were by then an open secret; and (3) the counterrevolutionaries were at the peak of training and they were getting restless (there was also fighting between rival factions at the bases).

President Kennedy, guided by Secy. of State Rusk's warning against open intervention, gave the go-ahead with some revisions. He insisted that no U.S. nationals could be directly involved in the landings and that the exiles could not jump off from U.S. soil. He eliminated a proposal for air cover for the landing craft from U.S. Navy planes. He also vetoed proposals, on the advice of Rusk, Stevenson and Bowles, for radio appeals to Cuba for an insurrection and for showering Cuba with leaflets.

The final plan called for an invasion by 1,500 to 2,000 Cuban exiles at the Bay of Cochinos. The object of the invasion force was to hold a beachhead long enough for a counterrevolutionary council to land and proclaim itself the true government of Cuba. The U.S. would quickly recognize the new government, as would some Latin American countries, and supply it with arms and money. If Castro moved against the naval base at Guantanamo, the U.S. would send troops.

COMPLETELY MISINFORMED: The reinforced invading army was to move to cut the island in two. Popular uprisings were expected throughout Cuba. Castro's army and militia were expected to disaffect in large numbers.

Behind the plan was the CIA estimate that the Cuban people were ready to revolt and that they were kept in check only by "Castro's terror." The CIA also believed that the exiled leaders they they had backed were popular figures on the island.

The CIA assumed that Castro's army and militia wouldn't and couldn't fight. It also wrote off the Cuban Air Force. It seemed to doubt that Cubans could fly planes (reports still persist that Czechs flew Cuban aircraft). Despite reports of Soviet MIGs in Cuba, the CIA knew, according to Joseph Newman in the New York **Herald Tribune** (May 1), that the Cuban air force consisted entirely of U.S.- and British-made planes inherited from Batista. Sen. Wayne Morse (D-Ore.) on May 14 said that Administration witnesses at the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee hearings confirmed there was no evidence "that there was a single Russian MIG in Cuba."

In a speech after the invasion Castro said that Cuba had only six planes—two U.S.-made jets, two British-made Sea Furies and two U.S.-made B-26 bombers.

CUBAN INTELLIGENCE: The CIA also seemed to doubt that Cuba could maintain an intelligence service. But there are strong indications that Castro knew when and where the invasion was coming. **Time** also reported that at a training base for exiles in Guatemala, under tight security, Cuban agents took movies and smuggled them out to Havana.

The U.S. planners held the opposition in such low esteem that they chose as an invasion point Cienaga de Zapata—an area transformed by the revolution to a paradise for the poor. It has been a concentration point for the anti-illiteracy campaign. Castro spends much of his leisure time there and is on a first-name basis with many of the residents. In few places in Cuba is he more popular.

The invasion followed its plan with only minor hitches—apart from its total failure and some incredible snafus in coordination. At dawn on April 15, B-26 bombers flown by counterrevolutionaries, trained by U.S. Air Force pilots, attacked Cuban airfields. Their purpose was to destroy Cuba's air force. On returning to their Caribbean bases, they reported total success and produced aerial photographs to support their contention.

VETO PREVAILS: Two other air strikes were planned for April 17, just before the landings. But they were vetoed, Newman reported, "by Rusk, Bowles and Stevenson," who were upset by Cuban charges at the UN General Assembly special meeting of U.S. aggression.

Newman said: "The three foreign policy advisers argued that additional attacks would make it impossible for them to uphold the official United States contention that this country was not a direct participant in the Cuban attack and to answer charges that the U.S. was committing acts of aggression in violation of the United Nations Charter and provisions of the Organization of American States."

At the UN, Stevenson had to stick to the CIA "cover story" that the April 15 bombing had been carried out by defectors from the Cuban air force, from

(Continued on Page 4)

Vicky in the New Statesman

"Well, I did say I'd follow in Roosevelt's footsteps . . ."

Leo Huberman speaks in N.Y. May 22 on Cuba invasion

LEO HUBERMAN, co-editor of **Monthly Review**, was one of the few American journalists in Cuba during the recent invasion period.

On Monday, May 22, under the auspices of Monthly Review Associates, he will speak on **"The Truth About Cuba—An Eyewitness Report."**

Melitta del Villar will sing, and Carey McWilliams, editor of **The Nation**, will be chairman.

The meeting will be held at 8:30 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom of the Hotel New Yorker, Eighth Ave. and 34th St. Admission is $1 in advance, $1.50 at the door.

NO, THIS IS NOT AN UNDERTAKERS' CONVENTION

It's a group of Democratic congressional leaders after they had been to the White House to discuss the international situation with the President. Left to right seated: House Speaker Sam Rayburn and Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield. Standing: House Leader John McCormack; Rep. Carl Albert (Okla); Sen. Hubert Humphrey; and Vice President Lyndon Johnson.

CARNEGIE HALL JAMMED FOR MEETING

Paulings report on Oslo peace conference

ABOUT 3,000 persons filled New York's Carnegie Hall May 12 to hear Dr. Linus Pauling and his wife, Ava Helen, report on the Conference Against the Spread of Nuclear Weapons, held in Oslo, Norway, from May 2 to 7.

The Oslo conference was organized by the Paulings, with the sponsorship of many internationally prominent persons, including some Nobel laureates. Thirty-five physical scientists and 25 social scientists from 15 countries participated. Pauling pointed out to the New York meeting that despite the participants' varying political views, the conference statement was adopted unanimously, with no abstentions.

The Paulings also announced that they were continuing until June 2 to solicit signatures on their petition to the UN against the spread of nuclear weapons. They hope to present additional petition signatures to UN Secy.-Gen. Dag Hammarskjold on June 15.

Dr. Philip Morrison of Cornell U. was chairman of the meeting. James Higgins, asst. editor of the York Gazette & Daily, also spoke. The meeting was sponsored by the Conference of Greater New York Peace Groups, which is circulating the Paulings' petition.

Following are excerpts from the conference statement:

THERE IS an imminent possibility of the acquisition of nuclear weapons by several nations. It is our conclusion that this constitutes a grave risk to the world:

1. Each addition to the number of nations armed with nuclear weapons drives its neighbors toward acquiring similar arms.

2. As nuclear weapons pass into more hands, the chance increases that a major war will be started by some human error or technical accident.

3. The spread to more nations increases the chance of deliberate initiation of nuclear war.

4. Increase in the number of nuclear powers would further increase the difficulty of achieving disarmament.

5. After it obtains nuclear weapons, a nation becomes a more likely target in any nuclear war.

We consider that no dispute can justify nuclear war. . . . In view of the danger and instability of the present arms race, the only sane policy for the world is that of achieving general and complete world disarmament with suitable international control and inspection.

Scientists and scholars have a unique responsibility to make plain the full significance of the revolutionary weapons development of the past decade. This requires presentation of factual information about the effects of atomic and hydrogen bombs, the overall consequences of nuclear war, and the brutalizing effects of preparation for nuclear war upon the values of our society. At the same time, their constructive proposals for coping with these grave problems are essential.

Modern weapons transform man's dream of a world without war into a practical necessity. It is possible to organize the world community on principles of freedom and justice under law, and mutual trust. We must act on this conviction, with words and deeds aimed against the spread of nuclear weapons and toward disarmament.

Four principal recommendations

1. We urge that the present nuclear powers immediately bind themselves by treaty not to transfer nuclear weapons to other nations or groups of nations, and that all nations not now possessing these weapons commit themselves to refrain from obtaining or developing them.

2. We urge that negotiations be started on the much more complex problem of extending the principle of demilitarization to the areas of greatest tension, beginning with central Europe.

3. We oppose the carrying out of any further tests of nuclear weapons by any nation. We urge that the drafting of the test-ban treaty be swiftly completed by reasonable compromise on the few questions remaining unsettled.

4. Disarmament will provide a great opportunity to raise the standard of living throughout the world, but will also pose major problems of reorganization. We urge that detailed studies of these problems be undertaken now both on a national and international scale.

The following participated in the conference:

AUSTRALIA: Dr. Walter Boas, physics.
CANADA: Sir Robert Watson-Watt, physics.
CZECHOSLOVAKIA: Prof. Frantisek Behounek, physics.
DENMARK: Prof. H. Hojgaard Jensen, physics; Docent O. Sten-Knudsen, medicine; Mrs. Else Marie Zeuthen, Int. pres. WILPF.
FINLAND: Prof. Goran von Bonsdorff, history.

DR. LINUS PAULING
The Oslo climate was good

FRANCE: Prof. Jean Salvinien, chemistry.
GERMANY: Prof. Dr. G. Burkhardt, physics.
GREAT BRITAIN: Prof. Dorothy Hodgkin, chemistry; Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall, author; Dr. Antoinette Pirie, ophthalmology; Prof. Joseph Rotblat, physics.
HUNGARY: Prof. I. Rusznyak, medicine.
JAPAN: Prof. Iwao Ogawa, physics; Mrs. Sumi Yukawa.
NORWAY: Dr. Niels Arley, biophysics; Dr. Vilhelm Aubert, sociology; Magister Jens Christophersen, political science; Dr. Christian Bay, political science; Prof. Torstein Eckhoff, public law; Dr. Reidar Eker, medicine, director, Norwegian Radium Hospital; Dr. Karl Evang, director-general, Health Services of Norway; Dr. Tormod Forland, chemistry; Prof. Johan Galtung, sociology; Prof. Ellen Gleditsch, chemistry; Prof. Dr. Johan B. Hygen, theology; Amanuensis Hans Tambs-Lyche, biology; Magister Knut Midgaard, philosophy and political science; Adjunkt Marie Lous Mohr, Norwegian pres. WILPF; Prof. Arne Naess, philosophy; Dr. Per Oftedal, biology; Univ. stip. Torkel Opsahl, international law; Dr. Alexandre Pihl, medicine; Prof. Ivan Thoralf Rosenqvist, geology; Prof. Magne Skodvin, history; Dr. Max Tau, literary adviser; Prof. Harald Wergeland, chemistry; Dosent Thomas Wyller, political science.
POLAND: Prof. Leopold Infeld, physics.
SWEDEN: Docent Lennart Eberson, chemistry; Mrs. Inga Beskow, Swedish pres. WILPF; Docent Gunnar Inghe, social medicine; Prof. Harald Ofstad, philosophy.
U. S. A.: Dr. William C. Davidon, physics; Vice president W. H. Ferry, Fund for the Republic; Dr. Frances Herring, public administration; Prof. David R. Inglis, physics; Prof. Seymour Melman, industrial engineering; Prof. Jay Orear, physics; Prof. Victor Paschkis, engineering; Prof. Linus Pauling, chemistry; Mrs. Ava Helen Pauling, U. S. vice pres. WILPF; former Rep. Charles O. Porter; Dr. Edward G. Ramberg, physics; Dr. Robert Schutz, economics.
U.S.S.R.: Jouri Beliaev, secretary; Cor. Acad. Vladimir Khvostov, international law; Cor. Acad. Alexandre Kuzine, radiobiology; Acad. Alexandre Vinogradov, geochemistry.

Invasion facts

(Continued from Page 3)

Cuban airfields. But few were taken in. **Time** reported (April 28) that a few bullets had been fired into an old Cuban B-26 in U.S. hands and "a pilot took off in the crate and landed it at Miami with an engine needlessly feathered and a cock-and-bull story that he had attacked the airfields. A reporter noted that dust and undisturbed grease covered bomb-bay fittings, electrical connections to rocket mounts were corroded, guns were uncocked and unfired." When the pilot's picture was published, he was promptly identified in Cuba and by exiles in Miami as Lieutenant Zuniga, a flyer from the Guatemala training base in Retalhuleu.

"FREE CUBAN NAVY": The invasion armada set sail on April 16. According to **Time** the ships had been "painted black and equipped with guns and radar in New Orleans." U.S. Navy ships provided escort until the invasion fleet was five miles from shore.

Months before the CIA had organized the invasion fleet and recruited Cuban exiles as seamen. It bought old LCIs (Landing Craft Infantry), and old fishing boats and it rented three cargo ships from Garcia Lines — Rio Escondido, Huston and Atlantic. The "free Cuban navy" also contributed some craft.

Drew Pearson reported (May 6): "The CIA did not seem to trust Cubans with the liberation of their own homeland and hired American merchant officers to command this private navy of ancient ships. Many of these American mercenaries turned out to be drunks and derelicts. Some even refused to associate with the Cubans they were supposed to lead. One skipper, G. C. Julian, insisted upon naming his Cuban freedom vessel the 'Barbara J,' after his wife."

WHAT DO WE DO? Eduardo Garcia, head of Garcia Lines, considered himself in command and designated the Rio Escondido as the flagship. Cuban exiles named the LCI "Blagard" as flagship, under an American merchant officer who understood no Spanish. Pearson reported that in the middle of the invasion, the American "forgot the battle plan." A Cuban on board who had memorized the plan "prompted him on what orders to issue."

Pearson added: "Several crew members would take orders from only Jesus Blanco, a former Cuban naval officer, who had recruited them."

All the invading force's aviation gas, tank shells and anti-tank mines were placed on the Rio Escondido. Early in the fighting it was hit by a bomb from a Sea Fury and went down with its cargo. Pearson said: "This left the Freedom Fighters on the beach without the tank shells and the anti-tank mines so necessary to hold off Castro's tanks. The Freedom Fighters managed to capture an air strip near Jaguey Grande as a forward base for their planes. But without aviation gas, the base was useless."

WHERE FIDEL WAS: On the beach the invaders never had a chance. The militia, which was supposed to defect in droves, opened fire instead. The Cuban air force, which was supposed to have been destroyed, dominated the air. In the cities, the "secret" underground agents, who were supposed to lead uprisings, were arrested before they made a move. The invaders were told, according to **Newsweek** (May 1) that Castro would be vacationing at his fishing cabin, two hours' march from the beach. They found Castro, but he was on a tank, firing its gun. The whole show was over in 66 hours.

On April 18, Roberto San Roman, commander of the invaders, appealed for U.S. air support, speaking from a walkie-talkie to a U.S. ship off shore. The appeal was relayed to CIA deputy director Richard Bissell Jr. He alerted others and a group met with Kennedy at 2 a.m. on April 19.

TOO LATE: Some in the group urged sending U.S. Navy planes. Newman reported that a snag in naval communications made it impossible to send an order before the battle was over. But Pearson reported (May 9): "[President] Kennedy finally ordered American planes into action in a last-minute effort to save the rebels from collapse. But when Navy planes finally got off their near-by carrier, their only contribution to freedom was to help Castro. They shot down a rebel B-26."

Operation Pluto died a dog's death. But if it leads to a public clamor against the CIA's dirty deals, at least the dog will not have died in vain.

Next week: The CIA and the exiles.

RESORTS

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Registration $1 Students & Unemployed 50c
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Oregon Chapter, Methodist Federation for Social Action
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IN MEMORIAM

In Loving Memory
EDWIN ROLFE
May 24, 1954
—His Family

'I AM READY TO TELL THE WORLD ABOUT U.S. PARTICIPATION'

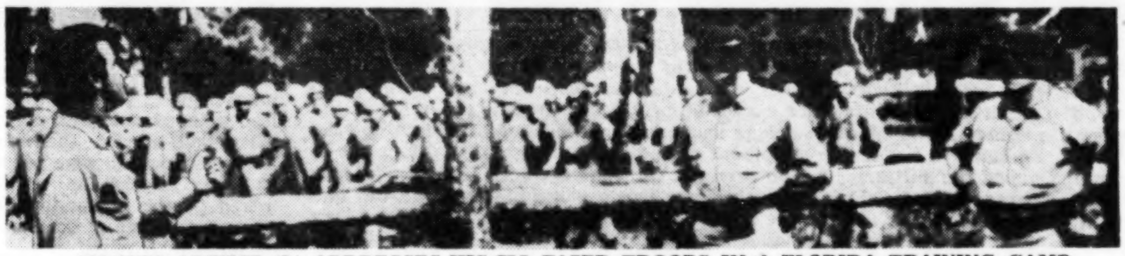
Portrait of a leader of the Cuban invasion

By Cedric Belfrage

HAVANA

SICK AND STARVING after 14 days in the swamps on a root and land-crab diet, Manuel Artime Buesa, 29, "political leader" of the Cuban invasion fiasco, gave himself up to militiamen on May 2. Other prisoners had said that Artime tried to escape in a boat on "D plus 2" day, and had been sent to the bottom by Cuban gunfire. Artime said that the constant strafing by Cuban planes on that day would have made such an attempt impossible.

In a press interview Artime could hardly control his bitterness against the U.S. government, whose officials had "planned, trained, subsidized and directed" the adventure. "What was done with the Brigade was a real crime," he said. "They just played with the lives of 1,400 men. Of course I won't say now that I sympathize with a socialist regime, but I can tell you I hate the imperialist system too."



MANUEL ARTIME (L) ADDRESSES HIS ILL-FATED TROOPS IN A FLORIDA TRAINING CAMP
Photo was taken in February when the existence of the camps was denied

THE LECTURE CIRCUIT: Artime was a late-coming "democrat" who joined Fidel's forces in the Sierra Maestra two weeks before Batista's downfall. He never fired a shot for the revolution but emerged with a Rebel Army captaincy as head of an Agrarian Development zone in Cuba. After embezzling the funds of a co-operative he fled to Mexico, then joined the Miami group organizing the war against the revolution. He was given cash to make an anti-Fidel lecture tour in eight Latin American countries.

He said that he last saw "President" Miro Cardona of the so-called Cuban Revolutionary Council and his colleague "Tony" Varona in the Guatemala training camp, to which they all flew together from "a deserted airport in Florida." Miro and Varona made pep-talks to "the boys," who left three days later for Puerto Cabezas, Nicaragua, to embark. Artime claimed never to have seen the military plans beforehand, but to have realized during the first hours of resistance in the Cienaga de Zapata that the enterprise was doomed.

IT WAS ALL FALSE: The invaders had been assured that Cuba's air force was totally destroyed in the B-26 attacks on airfields. At Playa Giron a radio message had come through from "the instructors" to San Roman, one of the other leaders, repeating this assurance while Cuban planes were overhead strafing the invasion ships. "The instructors" also said that other expeditions were landing in Pinar del Rio and Oriente, and that there would be no trouble with Cuban tanks as these were dispersed all over the island. "All this turned out to be false the first day," Artime said.

Artime denied knowing that there were 135 ex-Batista goons in the expedition: "There were said to be a dozen or so among those recruited but they promised not to send them." A "democratic" Cuban counter-revolutionary had at one time tried to purge the expeditionary force in Miami, "but it didn't last and afterwards I guess the men were picked without much scruples."

READY TO TALK: Artime had had various meetings with U.S. officials but "they all used assumed names." In the course of these sessions, he said, he had understood that Venezuelan President Betancourt and Puerto Rican Gov. Munoz Marin were among those helping the anti-Fidel buildup. Miro, he said, met periodically with ex-U.S. ambassador to Cuba Bonsal, "a great friend of his."

Puffing cigarettes nervously in the Havana Sports Palace where he was brought from the Cienaga, and taking frequent doses of stomach medicine, Artime said:

"I am ready to tell the world before the UN all about the U.S. participation in the invasion."

DIVINE JUSTICE IN NEW YORK

CD protester, 19, gets 60 days

By Lawrence Emery

THE YOUNG MAN didn't sweat for a living and the young lady seemed to be smiling in court. Neither believed in Divine Providence and neither would repent. So New York City Magistrate Anthony E. Maglio sentenced Allan Hoffman, 19, an artist, to 60 days in the workhouse and Elizabeth Just, 20, NYU student, to 30 days in the Women's House of Detention for defying the April 28 civil defense drill.

The sentences were the harshest ever given under the State Defense Emergency Act and set off so much public criticism that Magistrate Maglio had a change of heart. Two days later he permitted Miss Just's attorney to change her guilty plea to not guilty and released her on parole pending trial May 22. Hoffman's 60-day sentence remained in effect.

TWO AMONG 52: The magistrate's turnabout was protested by Asst. District Atty. Ira Beal: "I never heard of this happening before when a person after pleading guilty and being sentenced changes a plea because she does not like a sentence." Maglio responded that "that is no reason why anyone should not be entitled to a trial," but the District Attorney's office called the procedure illegal and said it would study the transcript for possible action.

Hoffman and Miss Just were among 52 persons arrested in New York's City Hall Plaza for participating in a passive demonstration called by the Civil Defense Protest Committee. About ten others were arrested in other parts of the city for refusing to take shelter when the sirens blew.

SYMPATHETIC, BUT: On May 3 eight were given a choice of paying $15 fines or serving three days in jail by Magistrate Kenneth M. Phipps. Four women, ranging in age from 23 to 64, chose jail. On May 8 eight more appeared before Phipps, who sentenced four of them to 30 days when they said they would violate the Defense Act in the future. Phipps, a Negro, said he was "sympathetic to individuals who exercise the courage of their convictions, but . . ."

On May 10 nine more pleaded guilty before Magistrate Phipps and were given a choice of five days or $25. Five chose jail, including Robert Gilmore, head of the Civil Defense Protest Committee and regional secretary of the American Friends Service Committee. Linda Rosenstock, 18, appeared in Adolescent Court on May 10 and was paroled pending sentencing May 26.

Of another group of ten who appeared before Magistrate Walter J. Bayer on May 15, five chose jail sentences of 25 days while four paid fines of $50 each. A tenth defendant, a priest of the Free Catholic Church, drew a suspended sentence.

ABOLITION CALL: Since April 28, members of the CDPC, and other pacifists groups have picketed the Criminal Courts Building and the Women's House of Detention. On May 6 the organization called for the abolition of the Federal Office of Civil Defense and Mobilization on the ground that the April 28 nation-wide drill revealed "massive opposition and apathy." A. J. Muste, treasurer of the CDPC, protested that asking defendants if they would again defy the drill "means sentencing people for offenses that they may commit in the future."

Beginning May 15 all picketing was concentrated in front of Civil Defense headquarters at 135 E. 55th St., near Lexington Ave., daily from 2 to 6 p.m. A mass picket line was planned for Friday, May 19, from 4 to 7 p.m. Thereafter daily picketing will be continuous until all protestors are released from jail.

Loudest protest against the Maglio sentences came from the New York **Post**, which called them "excessive, vindictive and irrational." It said that "each day that his victims remain in jail, they remain monuments to his inhumane folly."

Miss Just, a junior at NYU, lives in Maplewood, N.J., with her widowed mother, who fled her native Germany in the Thirties after Hitler came to power. Young Hoffman is a member of the Committee for Nonviolent Action and participated in that organization's coast-to-coast Walk for Peace.

THE TRANSCRIPT: The **Post** published excerpts from the transcript of the hearing before Magistrate Maglio, from which the following exchanges are taken:

MAGLIO TO MISS JUST: "You are smiling. If I throw you in the House of Detention for 30 days . . ."

MISS JUST: "I am sorry. I am not smiling. I am nervous."

MAGLIO TO HOFFMAN: "What kind of painting do you do?"

HOFFMAN: "Abstract painter. Artist."

MAGLIO: "Pardon me. I thought you did painting where you sweat to make a living."

MAGLIO: "Why don't you get down and say a couple of prayers and not prepare to create any trouble. The Divine Providence—don't you believe in that?"

HOFFMAN: "No, I don't."

MAGLIO: "That is what I figured. What about you, Miss Just?"

MISS JUST: "Mr. Hoffman has spoken for me."

At the end, the magistrate said to the attorney representing both young people:

"Counsel, you know how much you have worked for a half an hour to get an ounce of contrition and an ounce of repentance and I get one answer. He will do it again and she does not know."

CITY HALL PARK, APRIL 28
Was the baby smiling?

4th Methodist peace workshop in Portland, Ore., May 27-28

THE 4th Annual Peace Workshop of the Oregon Chapter, Methodist Federation for Social Action, will be held Sat. and Sun., May 27 and 28, at the Washington Hotel, Portland, Oregon. Dr. Holland Roberts, who recently returned from sessions of the World Council of Peace in New Delhi, India, will speak both Sat. eve and Sun. morning.

Other speakers will be Don Wheeler, John Caughlin and James Fantz. Reservations are $1, and may be made by writing to the Oregon Chapter, P.O. Box 327, Gresham, Ore.

The truth about Laos & N. Vietnam

The kind of reporting you find in the GUARDIAN, like the exclusive interview by Anna Louise Strong with Ho Chi Minh on p. 7, is what makes the paper special. More Americans should have the GUARDIAN's kind of reporting for an informed viewpoint. Do your friends a good turn by sending them subscriptions. Special introductory sub, $1 for 13 weeks. A one-year sub is $5.

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THE BACKGROUND OF THE COUP

Explosive Korea

The following article was written just before the news of the South Korean Army coup which ousted the Government of Premier Chang. At GUARDIAN press time, it was not clear whether the junta that took over was designed to prevent a repetition of the popular explosion of a year ago which resulted in the exile of Syngman Rhee. What was clear was another failure of U. S. intelligence. The U.S. Embassy in Seoul in a statement strongly backed Premier Chang, however, and urged the military junta to turn the Government back to him. The role of the thousands of U.S. troops in South Korea was a question mark. Martial law prevailed throughout the nation. The author of the article below served in Army Intelligence in the Far East and was a member of the Political Advisory Group to the American delegation of the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Joint Commission in Korea from 1946-48. He has kept in close touch with developments through contacts in Korea, Japan and China.

By Charles R. Allen Jr.

THE STUDENT-LED riots that toppled Syngman Rhee in South Korea last year set off a series of profound changes that have raised the protracted Korean revolution to a new stage of development. Today, it is clear that the events of the past 12 months have been the prelude to a new upheaval which is almost certainly in the making.

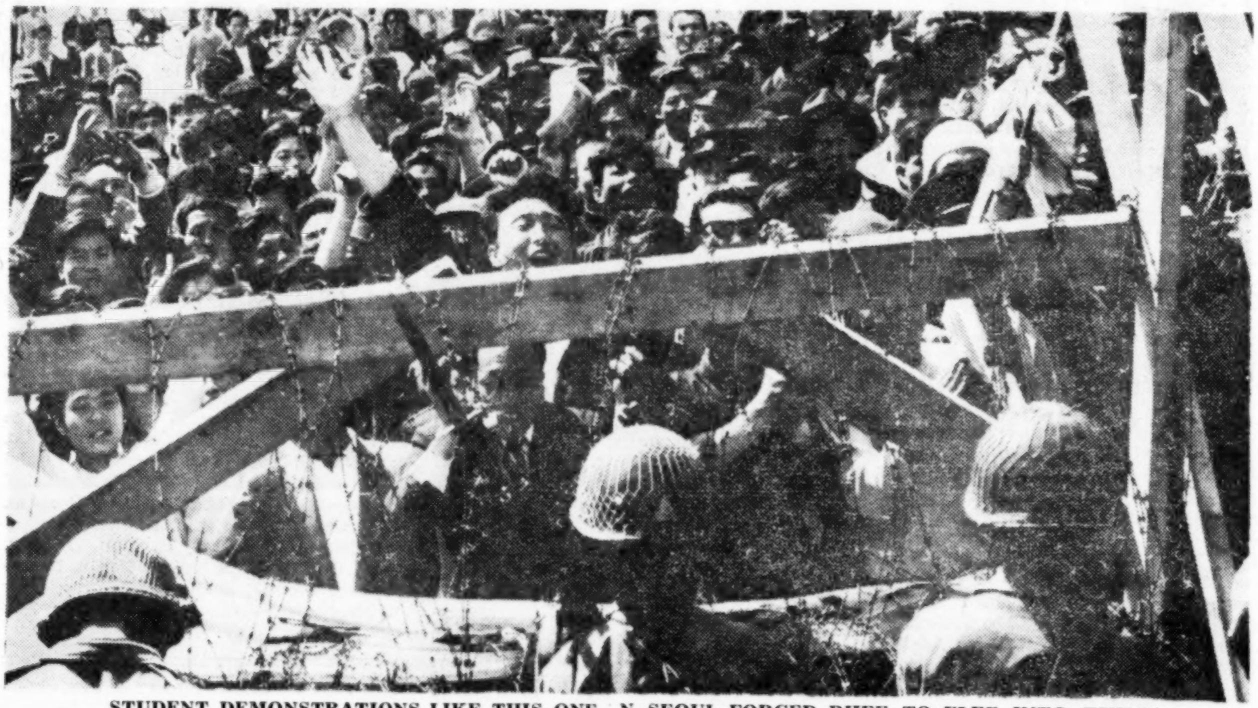
The spectacular gains made by the South Korean people since their 1960 uprising, taken together with the untenable American military position there and the diminishing support the State Dept. now gets from formerly reliable collaborators, are the major ingredients of the coming eruption.

When Rhee fell, several attempts to maintain him and his Liberal Party in power not only failed, but the united front of students, intellectuals, peasants and workers formed during the riots forced the National Assembly to suspend or abrogate many repressive Rhee laws and to pass several important reform measures.

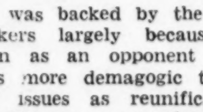
CHANG'S SUPPORT: This has happened despite the fundamentally reactionary nature of the new government and its ruling Democratic Party of John M. Chang (Chang Myun), an American-educated Roman Catholic. Chang served as both premier and vice president under Rhee. His party's accession to power in American-occupied Korea can be attributed to a variety of reasons:

It was clear that Rhee and his Liberal Party would no longer be tolerated by any Korean. One of the first acts of the South Korean legislature—taken while thousands of students filled the chambers and ringed the government buildings in Seoul—was to end all civil rights for Rhee and his officials. Among the war criminals for whom the students demanded the death penalty were 114 Liberal Party officials, its entire leadership.

Chang was backed by the American policymakers largely because of his reputation as an opponent of Rhee. Chang is more demagogic than Rhee on such issues as reunification and Japanese-Korean rapprochement, but basically he serves the same big landlords, industrialists, former collaborators and right-wing militarists.



STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS LIKE THIS ONE IN SEOUL FORCED RHEE TO FLEE INTO EXILE
The turmoil in South Korea was highlighted this week by the Army coup ousting Premier Chang



LIGHTNING ROD: Chang's job is to channel off the revolutionary ardor of last year's riots that continues to threaten the structure of governmental collaboration that has been built in South Korea since 1945. That is why he and his party acceded to many of the immediate demands of the students.

The despised Student Defense Corps, established by Rhee in 1949, was abolished. Its purpose was, according to the Seoul Times, "to investigate the thought trends of students and teachers."

Another primary target of the uprising was the "crisis" powers vested in Rhee by the 1948 South Korean constitution under which numerous "national security" proclamations were issued during Rhee's regime.

While information out of Korea has not been clear as to the precise disposition of these crisis powers, they have been suspended and their victims—those who still lived—were freed from Rhee's dreaded West End dungeons in Seoul immediately after the riots.

PROOF OF STRENGTH: Another notable reform ended the Rhee practice of appointing all local government officials from provincial governor down to village council. Elections for these posts were held last fall. Although the voting was attended by heavy abstentions and riots, the fact that the elections were held is further indication of the strength of the Korean revolutionaries. (It was reported last month that Choi In-kyoo, former Home Minister during the Rhee regime, has been sentenced to death for rigging elections.)

Another achievement has been the long-awaited punishment of the hated police. In the past year, the authorities were forced to jail 88 public prosecutors and 600 police and to dismiss hundreds more. It was announced recently that police superintendent Koo Su Chil has been condemned to death for the massacre of Kwangju demonstrators last year.

But the greatest single development has taken place among the workers and the peasants, the nucleus of the new power in South Korea. An incident of May 11, 1960, illustrates the point. On that day, 2,000 men sat down before the capitol in Seoul and called for "the confiscation of all illegally accumulated wealth." Fires hoses, police sticks and gun butts could not move these men.

BEASTS OF BURDEN: For they are not ordinary workers. They are the "A-frame men." The human beasts of burden in the poverty-racked working class of South Korea, they are a distinct caste, usually quite small, wiry, powerfully muscled and bent from generations of carrying incredible loads on their backs (held there by an A-shaped, wooden frame).

I remember vividly once encountering three of them along the high slopes of Nam San as they came padding out of the mountain undergrowth with enormous loads of stone on their backs. Each load weighed close to a thousand pounds. They had started their journey early that morning and were headed for Seoul, 12 miles distant. As we squatted and talked in the mountain glade, I found them gentle, full of good humor and yet of fantastic strength.

Their organized defiance of the police was part of a developing movement of strikes, organizing campaigns and labor-led demonstrations.

The labor front set up in 1948 by Rhee was outlawed last year. The end of the dreaded Taehan No Chung (Korean Federation of Labor Unions) unleashed 12 years of pent-up force in the South Korean working class. Under the Taehan, all labor disputes had to be submitted to compulsory arbitration, all strikes were outlawed and wage demands had to be submitted to the Taehan for "review."

NEW DEVELOPMENTS: The dissolution of the Taehan and the strike of the A-frame men paced the following significant (and characteristic) events since last year:

- AP reported (6/8/60) that ROK troops invaded a Buddhist temple outside Seoul to break up the first public move to form an open coalition of farm and labor organizations and the Socialist party. ROKs also arrested "spies" reportedly reviving the Rhee-outlawed Chun Pyung (All-Korea Labor Council) and the giant South Korea Labor Party (Communist). The "spies" were later released after a large crowd menaced ROK headquarters in Seoul.
- A Korean news agency admitted (6/9/60) that a demonstration of 20,000 Pusan longshoremen forced the Korean Shipbuilding Co. to grant "substantial" wage increases. Support for the longshoremen by other workers amounted to a virtual general strike in Pusan.
- Waves of strikes involving 46,000 peasants in North Cholla province protested against landlords' irrigation fees.
- A strike of 36,500 workers shut down 20 textile plants throughout South Korea. They called for an end to an 84-hour, 7-day week and demanded a 48-hour, 6-day week.
- Korean news agencies reported an uprising of 200,000 peasants last summer in South Chungchong, North and South Cholla provinces. They called for "appropriation of the appropriators."

LONG DEPRESSION: The long depression of the South Korean economy helps explain these developments. Despite the $3,000,000,000 in American aid since 1946, South Korea is an indescribable combination of poverty and stagnation. An estimated 6,600,000 people (33% of the work force) are permanently unemployed.

Nor does Washington seek to improve the situation. The recent $105,000,000 appropriation will in no way bolster the economy. This was made clear in a New York Times estimate of the situation on March 26:

"No more money will be put into industrial expansion until the present industrial program, which is often described here as 'faltering,' is going at full capacity."

Of course no amount of money could restore the South Korean economy to "full capacity." This can be done only through reunification of the agricultural south with the industrial north.

And it is on this question—reunification—that the issues will be joined in Korea. Agitation for reunification—without a role for the UN—has reached enormous proportions in the south. The entire secondary leadership of the American-backed Democratic Party has endorsed many reunification resolutions in the Assembly. Numerous conferences for preparatory agreements on trade, cultural, intellectual, scientific and athletic exchanges have already been set up and agreed to by impressive supporters both in Pyongyang and Seoul.

CIVIL WAR? Recent attempts by Chang to foist the latest American "aid" program and his "anti-subversive" laws on the people touched off further strikes and huge mass demonstrations. Unlike the past, any attempts to revive Rhee-ism will demonstrate further the regime's isolation from the people.

If these developments combine to force another upheaval in Korea, what form will this next crisis take? There probably will be civil war deep within South Korea, similar to the now legendary "Rebellion of Yosu."

On the night of Oct. 18, 1948, a regiment of American-trained and equipped Korean constabulary revolted in Yosu, a seaport 200 miles southwest of Seoul. The rebels first killed off the police, took the city and pushed on to seize Sunchou, 30 miles to the north. Political prisoners were freed and the city of 60,000 won over by the rebel troops. Despite intervention by the American army, it was not until Oct 28 that Sunchou was retaken and early November before Yosu itself was returned to ROK troops.

This kind of civil warfare is in the offing if a settlement on the reunification of Korea is not reached.

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ANNA LOUISE STRONG: FIRST AMERICAN TO VISIT NORTH VIETNAM

Exclusive: An interview with Ho Chi Minh

By Anna Louise Strong

HANOI, N. VIETNAM

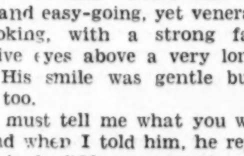
THE PRESIDENT will receive you at 4:30 p.m. in the Palace," said the chief of the press department. So at four we took a car—the press chief, my interpreter and I—and wound through wide tree-lined streets of the old French colonial part of Hanoi, with houses all massive and swank and painted the stucco-like yellow of a shop-worn Beverly Hills. Finally we reached the most pompous of all, a big yellow palace with acres of lawn, all fenced by ornamental spikes ten feet high. We came in by a gate where a sentry checked my name, and then around to a grand circular sweep of marble entrance stairway.

I climbed to the portico with its floors of figured mosaic, and thence into halls with floors in other mosaic designs. The reception room, however, was pleasantly modern. The press chief went out and returned, reporting: "The President will come at once."

Very soon after there came a tall, sturdy man in cream-colored khaki and sandals with a stride effortless and smooth. He greeted me with both hands in a gesture so all inclusive that it embraced the room from the blowing window-drapes to the chocolate cakes on the coffee table. It said: "Be at home!"

THE FIRST ONE: I sat at one end of the divan and Ho Chi Minh sat at the other. He began by saying: "We will talk in English." From that moment I forgot that English was not his native tongue, and not even one of the many tongues—French and Chinese and Cantonese—that he had earlier acquired.

He said: "You are the first citizen from the United States who has come to our country." I began to mention Joseph Starobin but recalled that when



Starobin had been in Vietnam and met Ho Chi Minh, it had not been entirely "our country" then.

I knew at once why all Vietnamese children call him "Uncle Ho." He was simple and easy-going, yet venerable and wise-looking, with a strong face and expressive eyes above a very long wispy beard. His smile was gentle but penetrating too.

"You must tell me what you wish," he said, and when I told him, he replied, as if surprised: "Oh, you want an interview?" I said that it would be informative for the GUARDIAN readers to have some words from him on the progress of North Vietnam, and the problem of reunion with the South, and especially the relations with Laos.

"BUT WE PROGRESS": The talk turned political but remained so casual that when a move by the Press Chief told me that the hour was done, I thought in dismay that there was nothing to quote. Only in retrospect did I see that he had answered all my questions—so simply and explicitly.

He said: "We admit that we do not advance as fast as our Chinese and Korean brothers. Not even to think of the U.S.S.R., which is so very far ahead! The Chinese have communes all over their country while we have only 80 per cent of our peasants in cooperatives, and not all these are of higher grade. The Korean industrial output is higher than farming, while we are mainly agricultural still.

"But we progress. Under the French we were slaves and now we are free. Our farmers now own their own land and their crops increase."

I asked if he thought the Vietnam cooperatives would move in the direction of the Chinese commune or the Russian kolkhoz. He said: "Kolkhoz, commune, cooperative are different forms of the same trend. The trend is the same in all countries going to socialism, but the forms differ with different national traditions. Our traditions are also somewhat different from others and our forms will be somewhat different too."

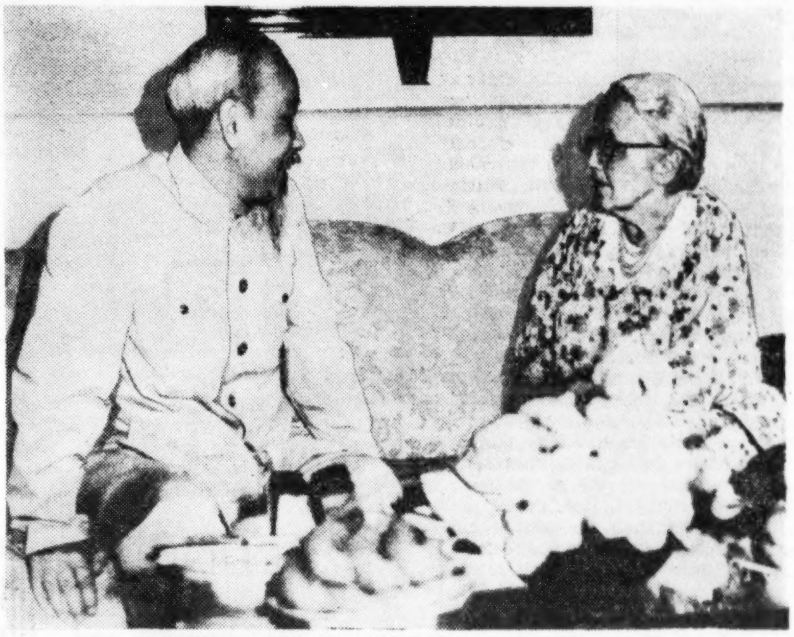
90% LITERATE: Then he went on to industry: "Under the French there were only 22 factories, mostly old and many of them ruined when the French went. Now we have 172 modern industrial enterprises. For these we had help from our fraternal socialist nations, the U.S.S.R., China and others.

"Our gain in literacy we are really proud of. Under the French we were 95 per cent illiterate; now it is just reversed. We are 90 per cent literate. Not long ago I visited a village in the Cau Ban Province where I did my first illegal work. In those days there were just two people in that village who could read. Now they can all read, from the children of seven up. Now every village has its school; not yet a very fine, big school, but yet a school of four grades."

These were the changes he listed for a land that had been at peace less than seven years—less time than Korea had had, much less than China—and whose rice-growing delta had been criss-crossed with French barbed-wire entanglements that took long to remove. He did not mention these hindrances as alibis. He went on to speak of the South:

"We have two main tasks now. First, to make the life of the people better and better . . . Socialism, of course. And next, how can our country be peacefully reunified?"

A COMPLEX THING: I remarked that the first of these would take time and work, but was a straight road with many



THE PRESIDENT AND HIS VISITOR IN THE PALACE AT HANOI
He made it clear that he preferred his two-room residence

examples. The second was more complex: "China, Korea, Germany are also divided since the war. None has attained re-unification. How do you expect to do it?"

"It is complex," he agreed. "Your American imperialism spends much money to keep Ngo Dinh Diem in power. And now it seems your Kennedy administration becomes even more active. Already you have given Diem an army of 150,000 men, and he uses them to suppress the people. He uses the American planes to bomb and strafe whole areas where the people resist him. But Kennedy proposes to increase Diem's army because he does not find it enough. He gets SEATO to 'support Diem' against what he calls 'a small minority stirred up from outside' . . . But it is not a small minority. It is the people of South Vietnam who are oppressed. You do not need to take my word for this: they are saying it all over the South.

"In history when people are oppressed too hard, they make a revolution. Our people in the South are oppressed too hard by Diem. So Diem will fall, as did Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee, and Batista and Menderes in Turkey.

"All the money America spends on Diem is lost money. It buys only more anti-American sentiments. This happens not only in South Vietnam, but in South Korea, in Taiwan, in Cuba, wherever U.S. imperialism penetrates."

NO CRYSTAL BALL: "Have you any guess as to how long it will take?" I asked.

He spread his hands. "I am no fortuneteller," he said, "but I know how it happens in history. And I know too that the American people are not all prosperous. They struggle against unemployment, for better housing, over the Negro question. If you in America struggle, and our people in the South struggle, and our people in the North also struggle to build a strong economic base for a united country, the liberation will come."

"Would you speak about your policy towards Laos?" I asked. "It is much in dispute in the West and they say that you intervene."

"The subject is delicate," he said, and paused to choose precise words: "What we hope for Laos is that this neighbor people may grow in prosperity and live in peace. And we want to be friendly with them . . ."

He stopped and I wondered: "Is this all?" (It was only later that I thought: "If this is the basic policy—a wish for prosperity and peace in a neighbor country, a wish to be friendly—then everything else is only the detail of the day.")

TWISTED TO FIT: I pressed him: "But the reporter from the New York Times who said that the Plain of Jars is 'swarming with Vietnamese, that 'Vietminh are everywhere' . . . 'manning the Russian guns.' You could refute him."

"I know the man you mean," he replied. "Prince Phouma brought him here and to the Plain of Jars. What could we do? He knew when he came the kind of story he would write. He twisted things to fit. The tale that the Vietminh are fighting in Laos is invented by Phoumi Nosavan every time the Pathet Lao wins a battle. Not even the capitalist correspondents in Vientiane believe it any more. It has been disproved many times."

"Isn't there anything in his tale you care to deny?" I persisted.

"If you start denying," he said, "you can spend all your time denying. There is a French proverb that fits." He gave it in French and then together we translated: "Let the dogs keep barking, the caravan keeps on through."

Those were the words to end with and he ended there.

EVIL MEMORIES: He bent over the coffee table and scooped up a bowl of red carnations. "Won't you take these for your room," he said. Placing them in a large paper napkin he gave them to my interpreter. Then he led me out to my auto. As we passed through the ornate halls to the marble and mosaic porch, he said: "This place was built for the French Governor-General of all French Indo-China. Later, the Japanese used it for their General Staff, and then Chiang Kai-shek for his General Staff, and then the French again for Bao Dai, for a short time their puppet. Then it came to us."

"Don't the memories of the evil occupiers taint the air?" I asked.

"We aired it well," he said. "They had looted it already of all movable wealth."

"But not of that," I replied, indicating the view of grass and trees and city from the porch.

"No, they could not take away the green or the people. They tried to, but were not able." Almost abruptly he added: "I don't live here. I live in a small house with two rooms." He waved vaguely, indicating direction.

I asked: "Then what is the Palace for?" He smiled: "We use it for the President to receive people."

Back in Peking now, I wake at night and know I am homesick. Not for Vietnam: the damp of that tropic land bites into my bones. I am homesick for a world where the presidents will be like Uncle Ho. Liberators and leaders of the people unshackled by forms of the state. A world I never saw but it must be the one where our caravans go.

And Ho, I think, has his house built there already.

Ho tells how Vietnam helps Laos

President Ho cabled the following statement to Anna Louise Strong, in answer to her request, after she had left Hanoi for Peking:

THE VIETNAMESE AND LAOTIAN PEOPLES are neighbors and have always enjoyed very good relations. In the past our people fought hand in hand against the French colonialists; our respective delegations took part side by side in the Geneva Conference which restored peace in Indo-China on the basis of recognizing the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and national unity of the Indo-Chinese peoples.

The Democratic Republic of Vietnam was signatory to the 1954 agreement for cessation of hostilities in Laos. In conformity with the obligations stipulated by this agreement, the people and government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam have supported the heroic struggle of the Laotian people against the armed intervention of the American imperialists and a number of SEATO countries, for the realization of the policy of peace, neutrality and national concord pursued by the Government of the Kingdom of Laos.

This support is a political and moral support. Since the recent establishment of economic and cultural relations between the two countries, this support has taken material form: for example, we send rice, salt, clothing, farm tools, medicines and sanitary teams to care for the wounded and the sick. These economic and cultural relations are developing and are in the interests of peace and friendship between our two countries and between the peoples of southeast Asia.

These are the relations between Vietnam and Laos. Any other information or tendentious assertion contrary to the above is entirely groundless.

Arms and space $$

(Continued from Page 1)

omy and suggest necessary additional proposals by April 18. The six-week delay is now blamed on the pressures of international problems.

President Kennedy originally planned to increase the Eisenhower military budget by about $1 billion, but there is strong pressure to spend a great deal more. A rise of $600,000,000 in the space budget is planned. On May 9 the Senate Armed Services Committee unanimously voted to spend an additional $525,000,000 on long-range strategic bombers. The Army and Marine Corps are asking for a much greater increase than the original Kennedy boost of 10% over the Eisenhower budget for conventional arms. Other increases of large size are expected, and the rise in foreign aid spending for cold war purposes may be considerable.

These prospects have steadily pushed up the estimated deficit in the first Kennedy budget covering the period from July 1, 1961, to July 1, 1962. On March 24 Kennedy estimated the 1962 fiscal year would have a $2.8 billion deficit. On May 8 Budget Director Bell raised the estimated deficit to around $4 billion, with additional space and military spending still to come.

THE CHOICE: Such a budget deficit—spending $4 or $5 billion more than revenue—is counted on to create considerable economic recovery. Accelerated defense spending has already been used as a major short-term anti-recession device. The Defense Dept. placed $701,000,000 in contracts ahead of schedule by April 7. Defense Dept. Comptroller Charles Hitch reported that defense procurement soared from $5 billion in the first quarter of 1961 to $8.5 billion in the current, second quarter. When asked about the unemployment problem at his April 12 press conference, Kennedy said that "we have asked for a substantial increase" in defense spend-

Talburt in the Washington Daily News
Strange bedfellows

ing which, he said, affects unemployment "beneficially."

The President's Council of Economic Advisers believes that jobs can be created by government spending either on civilian items or on the military. Both will increase aggregate demand and thus boost recovery. The Council holds that the choice between civilian and military spending is a matter of public policy to be made by the President.

This choice will bring the President to grips with Richard Nixon's recent charge that Mr. Kennedy lacks the leadership necessary "to show the people what we should spend in the military and space fields, and that it is necessary for them to sacrifice some of these domestic things."

In practical terms, the alternatives are increased military-space-foreign aid spending versus tax cuts, public works of all sorts, expanded welfare programs, and emergency aid to the jobless. The President's choice may give meaning to his repeated warnings of necessary sacrifices for the cold war.

PLACEBO PROGRAM: There is general agreement that Kennedy's initial recovery program was extremely limited, differing only slightly from what might have been expected from Nixon. Prof. Paul Samuelson, author of Kennedy's Economic Task Force report, refers to it as a "placebo program"—placebo being an innocuous pill given merely to satisfy a patient that something is being done. Even the Democratic members of the Joint Economic Committee in their May 2 report say: "We cannot help noting that the total effects of all the actions so far taken and proposed will be small as compared to the gap between the nation's expected economic performance and its economic potential."

Sen. William Proxmire (D-Wis.) felt that the Joint Economic Committee, of which he is a member, did not go far enough. He said: "It fails to recognize the enormity of the unemployment dilemma in its full long-term significance. The real problem is that neither the Administration or this report has even come close to providing the answer to our massive unemployment or our perplexing growth problem. Before we act, we must know what to do. Neither this committee nor the Administration knows."

William V. Shannon, Washington columnist for the New York **Post**, puzzled about "the fascinating question why the President is handling these economic questions so cautiously" and concluded that "some essentials are already clear. One is that no man can be Wall Street's President and also the President of the unemployed . . . Another is that a liberal politician who enjoys an overwhelmingly favorable press should realize there is something wrong with himself. And third, not enough has yet been done for the unemployed."

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Atty. Popper guilty

NEW YORK ATTORNEY Martin Popper was found guilty May 4 on four counts of contempt of Congress by a Federal District Court in Washington, D.C. He had refused to answer questions of the House Committee on Un-American Activities in June, 1959.

Popper based his refusal to answer on grounds that the committee had no jurisdiction in passport "security" cases.

Rep. James Roosevelt (D-Calif.) appeared as a witness for Popper. He testified that committee chairman Francis Walter's request for jurisdiction over passports had been denied by Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn in January, 1959.

Popper's conviction came three days after Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson began serving one-year sentences for contempt convictions upheld by the Supreme Court in February.

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IN MEMORIAM

In Memory of

Isaac Soorkis

Died May 6, 1961

Fall River, Mass.

BOOKS

A minority view

AMID THE FLOOD of books on civil liberties published during the past decade, this brief summary of the Bill of Rights by Justice Douglas* stands out as one of the most valuable for the ordinary citizen untrained in the law.

Justice Douglas points out that the complete American Bill of Rights has come to mean not only the first ten Amendments to the Constitution, but also "the guarantees of freedom contained in the body of the Constitution itself." It is so unusual for a book on civil liberties systematically to list these 12 important guarantees that I give them below in Justice Douglas's own words:

- The prohibition of any religious test for public office.
- The prohibition against the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus—the device used to test the legality of a person's confinement in a jail or penitentiary.
- The requirement that a person be tried not in a distant place but in the state where the crime was committed.
- The prohibition against ex post facto laws—laws which are passed today but made applicable to yesterday's conduct which was lawful when people engaged in it.
- The provisions against bills of attainder—legislative measures by which people were outlawed from the community and barred from enjoying any rights of citizenship.
- The requirement that each act of treason be testified to by two witnesses.
- The prohibition of slavery and involuntary servitude by the Thirteenth Amendment.
- The guarantee that all persons born or naturalized in the United States are citizens regardless of their race or color by the Fourteenth Amendment.
- The Fourteenth Amendment's command that no state shall deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law.
- The Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment barring any state from denying any person the equal protection of the laws.
- The Fifteenth Amendment's guarantee that the right of citizens to vote shall not be denied or abridged either by the Federal government or any state on account of race or color.
- The Nineteenth Amendment that protects a woman's right to vote.

JUSTICE DOUGLAS discusses the various provisions of the expanded Bill of Rights that he has outlined. In these critical times when the Kennedy Administration has created throughout the United States a brink-of-war psychology in reference to Cuba, I find enlightening the author's four or five pages about "the principle of civilian ascendancy over the military" in the American system of government. This is revealed especially in the Second and Third Amendments, in the writ of habeas corpus, and in Supreme Court decisions ruling that the civil courts possess the power and duty to determine whether martial law is justified in any particular emergency.

Justice Douglas stresses the fact that the courts and the Constitution "can, at best, give only a minimum protection to our liberties. They can deal, for the most part, only with actions of government officials." What Professor Walter Gellhorn of Columbia calls the "power-aggregates of Private Government"—the vast conglomeration of business corporations, of radio and television stations, and of reactionary pressure groups such as the American Legion, the Daughters of the American Revolution and the John Birch Society—are a constant menace to freedom of speech in specific situations and in general help mightily to develop an atmosphere of conformity and fear.

JUSTICE W. O. DOUGLAS
The battle is continuous

THIS ATMOSPHERE is influential in determining the stand that the individual citizen takes in his own locality about unorthodox opinions. Yet, as Justice Douglas says, "the reality of freedom in our daily lives is shown by the attitudes and policies of people toward each other in the very block or township where we live. There we will find the real measure of **A Living Bill of Rights.**"

While reading this book, we must remember that the uncompromising views on the Bill of Rights expressed here by Justice Douglas represent a minority position in the Supreme Court as presently constituted. Since its **Barenblatt** and **Uphaus** decisions two years ago, the Court has apparently frozen into a 5-4 majority against First Amendment rights, as shown once again in the recent **Braden** and **Wilkinson** rulings.

This split in our highest judicial body reflects the closeness of the struggle for civil liberties in the country at large. It is a continuous seesaw battle which calls for unrelenting efforts of all lovers of freedom during the years and decades to come. In this battle Justice Douglas' little book can serve as an important weapon.

—Corliss Lamont

*A LIVING BILL OF RIGHTS. by William O. Douglas. Doubleday & Co. 72 pp. $1.50.

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FIRST, YOU GET A BANK LOAN . . .

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LAVISH CLAIMS to the contrary, **The New Capitalists** is an uninspiring little essay, urging but not expecting a program which is reminiscent of the financial quackery that has periodically erupted in troubled times in American history.

The authors are two widely respected gentlemen: Louis O. Kelso, head of a large law firm in San Francisco, and Mortimer J. Adler, nationally known as a professor of philosophy at one time associated with the University of Chicago's Great Books curriculum.

Kelso and Adler are concerned with two statistics. One is that 5%, at most, of the households of the country possess almost all the share ownership of capital in the U.S. Fact two is that 70% of the income currently produced goes, they claim, to labor. They are worried also that only 1% of the population's families, according to their calculations, are thoroughbred capitalists (deriving at least half their income from dividends, rent and interest) and that the long-run trend continues to concentrate ownership in the hands of the already privileged few.

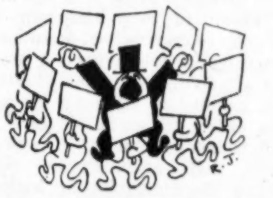
THE DEPLORABLE economic consequences of this situation, as they see it, is that propertyless labor is incessantly striving to take the fruit of capital ownership away from this relatively tiny group. This is the essence of what they term a "laboristic society." Capital is productive and labor reaps the benefits.

To change this situation and restore the ownership of capital to the population at large, the authors, to no one's surprise, do not recommend nationalization of the admittedly highly-concentrated production facilities. This they feel would entirely destroy human freedom, for they associate, as does most of current American scholarship, the ownership of private property with personal liberty.

Instead, it is proposed that the non-shareholding public be permitted to participate in the ownership of securities by purchasing stock with bank loans. The loans are supposed to be repaid by the new shareholder out of the **future** earnings and dividends of the corporation. As is the case generally with panaceas, the program is described as painless and requiring only "minor changes in our business-financing techniques."

THROUGH THIS arrangement it is believed that share ownership will become widely diffused in contrast to its present concentration, and labor, having become a property-holding class, will stop yammering for higher wages and other demoralizing benefits. The authors feel confident that their scheme will restore vitality to the capitalistic system by eliminating non-productive practices and free-loading attitudes that are widespread. For good measure, the technique is also prescribed as a mechanism for developing backward areas of the world.

The notion that capitalism requires equality and widespread diffusion of ownership is curious when all historical evidence indicates the contrary. The separation of ownership from control in the modern corporation, whereby the many small stockholders are voiceless, carries no weight with Kelso and Adler. They propose the creation of millions more of these already powerless property owners.



WHAT WOULD happen to all the new shareholders' bank loans, supported by future corporate earnings, when the economy takes a dive as it has done, consistently and periodically, for the last century and a half, is smoothed over with the assertion that "any wholesale enforcement of debt obligations would be prohibited." Of course, this assurance has as its premise massive governmental support. In truth, the number and extent of governmental controls required to select, finance and insure all the "new capitalists" would make the average businessman's stereotyped image of a socialist economy seem like a restriction-free Adam Smith dream by comparison.

Withal, Kelso and Adler have performed two useful services in writing their book. They confirm the readiness of the American economy for thoroughgoing nationalization. And they have revealed one of the frauds of recent years. All the hullabaloo about "people's capitalism" is apparently premature. The authors are still working on it.

—L. R. Asnton

*THE NEW CAPITALISTS, by Louis O. Kelso and Mortimer J. Adler. Random House. 109 pp. $3.50.

C. P. Snow's Speech

C. P. Snow's address to the American Assn. for the Advancement of Science last December, **The Moral Un-Neutrality of Science**, is now available in pamphlet form from the Peace Literature Service of the American Friends Service Committee, 160 N. 15th St., Philadelphia 2, or at the nearest AFSC office. The price is 10c.

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Civil rights laws

(Continued from Page 1)

school desegregation ruling." Wilkins pointed out that it would be impossible to realize the Democratic platform pledge to begin desegregation of all schools by 1963 without Federal legislation. The decision not to push for legislation, he said, ignores the fact that the Attorney General's actions to secure Negro voting rights were made possible by the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960. He added:

"As for practical politics, the record is conclusive that whether a President sponsors civil rights legislation or not, his general legislative program is subject to hatchet treatment by Southerners and their allies."

THE PLATFORM: The Democratic platform said: "It is the duty of Congress to enact the laws necessary and proper to protect and promote these constitutional rights." Such a civil rights program, it said, would "require the strong, active, persuasive, and inventive leadership of the President."

Last September Kennedy announced that he had asked Clark and Celler to prepare civil rights legislation. The six-point program which they introduced in fulfillment of their assignment would: (1) require every school board operating segregated schools to adopt a desegregation plan within six months, with first-step compliance scheduled for no later than 1963; (2) make the Civil Rights Commission permanent; (3) provide judicial and administrative remedies against discrimination by business or unions; (4) empower the Attorney General to bring civil injunction suits to prevent denial of any civil rights, (5) eliminate the poll tax in Federal elections and (6) eliminate the literacy test requirement for voting.

Noting the lack of Presidential support, Sen. Clark's press release announcing the bills said: "Regardless of present legislative priorities, the time will come in the not too distant future when the Congress will enact these civil rights measures. In the meantime, we will do our utmost to push for prompt hearings and favorable reports to both houses on the bills we have introduced today."

TIMING AND TACTICS: New York **Post** columnist William Shannon said May 11: "The President's difference with the liberals is one of timing and tactics. He has decided it would be best to hold off on civil rights bills this year. But it is still reasonable to suppose that he will make a major drive for their enactment in 1962." Miss Fleeson said that Clark and Celler expected Congressional leaders to follow the Kennedy line with enthusiasm. One item that may upset the calculations, however, is the Civil Rights Commission, which is due to expire in September. Legislation to extend its life or make it permanent is a must.

A New York **Post** editorial May 11 said that the Administration cannot be charged with turning its back on civil rights: "It can be asked, however, whether the President's efforts to placate the Southern contingent by avoiding a legislative confrontation on Capitol Hill is justified on even strategic grounds." Small moves toward creation of a liberal coalition to offset the GOP-Dixiecrat alliance, the **Post** said, "are overshadowed by the President's apparent self-delusion that he can win large legislative dividends on other matters by appeasing the Southern set in this fashion."

A NEGRO SCHOOL AT FIVE FORKS IN PRINCE EDWARD COUNTY
The children use it during the shutdown of the public schools

THE APPROACH: Roscoe Drummond commented in the New York **Herald Tribune** May 12: "It would seem to me that the only freedom of maneuver open to Mr. Kennedy is timing. He would like to delay civil rights legislation until next year, while Atty. Gen. Kennedy sees what headway he can make by rigorous indorsement of present laws. But that hardly sounds like the action promised in the campaign."

But the failure is more than unfulfilled campaign promises. According to the **Post**'s Shannon the Administration's approach is "to convince Southerners that the cause of segregation really is doomed and that it is time for them to start coming to terms with reality." He added:

"The President is convinced Southern diehards are increasingly on the defensive within their own region. If Federal officials are firm and persistent, he believes, Southern opinion may fairly soon shift ground from extremist resistance toward grudging compliance."

Thus far Southern Negroes have not seemed overly ready to accept "grudging compliance." Further, there is little indication that even this kind of compliance will come soon in Alabama or Mississippi. In the past month about 500 Negroes have been arrested in the South; police have used dogs to stop demonstrators in Mississippi, and an Alabama legislator has called for the establishment of an un-Alabaman investigating committee.

ALABAMA BEATINGS: Brutal beatings were inflicted May 15 in Anniston and Birmingham, Ala., on an inter-racial group during a bus trip from Washington, D.C., to New Orleans. The bus trip—Freedom Ride, 1961—was sponsored by the Congress of Racial Equality to challenge segregation in bus terminals. Before the trip began letters were sent to President Kennedy and the Greyhound and Trailways bus companies by James Farmer, CORE national director, to inform them of the itinerary. After the beatings in Alabama Farmer wired Atty. Gen. Kennedy and the President "to protest the assaults and to ask for guarantees of freedom on the public highways."

Howard K. Smith, CBS commentator who witnessed the Birmingham beatings, reported that police arrived after the beatings "when the hoodlums had got into waiting cars and moved down the street a ways, where I watched some of them discussing their achievements of the day. That took place just under Police Commissioner (Bull) Connor's window." Police had stood outside the bus at Anniston during the beatings there.

After Gov. John Patterson refused to guarantee safe passage as requested by Atty. Gen. Kennedy, the 'Freedom Riders' cut their bus trip short and flew to New Orleans.

THE CREDIT SIDE: But the Administration must be credited for what it has done and pledges to do. In a forthright speech in Athens, Ga., May 6, Atty. Gen. Kennedy said: "If the orders of the court are circumvented, the Dept. of Justice will act. We will not stand by and be aloof. We will move." His speech followed the government's announcement that it would enter the school desegregation suit by Negroes in Prince Edward County. The move is significant since heretofore Dept. of Justice action in school desegregation cases has been limited to friend-of-the-court briefs. In this case the department hopes to become a co-plaintiff in the suit to enjoin Prince Edward County from refusing to operate public schools and from spending public funds for support of private, segregated schools. The county closed its schools two years ago after a Federal District Court had ordered it to desegregate.

The President has also done the following:

- Launched a drive to recruit Negro college graduates for Federal jobs, particularly in the Labor, Justice and Welfare Depts.
- Pledged to cancel government contracts of any employer who refuses to comply with his anti-discrimination job order.
- Ordered cabinet officers not to speak at functions where Negroes are barred.
- Held meetings of his Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity with industry and labor leaders for a "thorough" review of the anti-discrimination job order.
- Ordered Federal agencies to take "immediate and specific action" to bar the use of their names or facilities to any employe recreational groups that discriminate.
- Ordered the Civil War Centennial Commission to avoid use of segregated facilities and accommodations.

"NO PARALLEL": Praise for these actions came from the New York **Amsterdam News** May 13. An editorial endorsed a Democratic National Committee press release outlining Executive actions on civil rights which said: "The swift, vigorous drive of President John F. Kennedy against social discrimination inside and outside of the Federal government in the first 100 days of his Administration has no parallel in recent history."

Jackie Robinson, who had supported Vice President Nixon's bid for the Presidency, announced that he had written Atty. Gen. Kennedy in praise of his Athens, Ga., speech and said that President Kennedy had shown since his election that he is aware of Negro problems and rights. But, he added:

"They've said so many wonderful things, but we've been hearing that for a long time. Now we're waiting to see if there is going to be a follow-through."

PLEA TO WHITE HOUSE

N.Y. delegation asks Winston clemency

A MOTHER'S DAY delegation of five visited the White House and the Dept. of Justice May 12 with a plea for executive clemency for Henry Winston, Smith Act victim now serving his eighth year in a Federal prison.

In the group were Mrs. Thelma Hawkins, wife of Rev. Edler Hawkins, Bronx minister and vice moderator of the Presbyterian Church; Mrs. W. A. Carson, YWCA worker; Mrs. Angie Dickerson, Bronx civic leader; Mrs. Royal W. France, and Mrs. Bella Altshuler, secretary of the Bronx Neighbors Committee for the Freedom of Henry Winston.

The plea was submitted to Reed Cozart, pardon attorney, and Lee White, assistant special counsel to the President. The Bronx committee urges that others write to the President and send copies of their letters to Bella Altshuler, 2731 Barker Ave., Bronx 67, N.Y.

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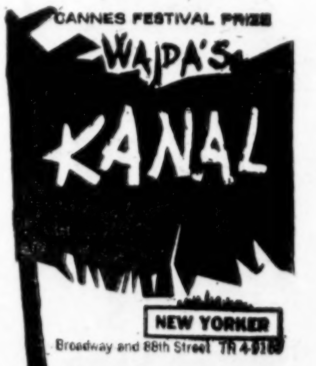

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FRIDAY, MAY 26, 8 p.m.
Questions. Discussion. Workmen's Circle Educational Circle, 18340 W. Seven Mile (2 blocks West of Southfield). Ausp: Detroit Chapter Fair Play for Cuba Comm. PO Box 7762, Detroit 7.

BOSTON

Hear ROBERT F. WILLIAMS
CUBA, WHAT NEXT?
THURS., MAY 25 8 P.M.
at CHARLES ST. UNIVERSALIST MEETING HOUSE, 70 Charles St.
Ausp: Fair Play for Cuba Comm.

NEW YORK

"THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN LITERATURE"—a lecture by DR. ANNETTE T. RUBINSTEIN, author & critic.
FRIDAY, May 19—8:30 p.m.
116 University Pl. (Off Union Sq.)
Cont. $1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum.

WED., MAY 24 8 P.M.
HEAR A REPORT BY A COMMITTEE OF MOTHERS who went to Wash. to see Pres. Kennedy in an appeal for Executive Clemency for
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THE GALLERY

A POLICE TRIAL BOARD in Washington, D.C., last month fined Detective William J. Zerwick $150 for turning over FBI records to a friend and for lying about it to a superior officer. Zerwick reportedly gave FBI dossiers to Dr. Harold G. Quase, a retired physician who holds a private detective's license and who is president of Jet Fuel and Storage Co., an underground storage firm. Zerwick's lawyer said the detective turned over the records because he thought Quase wanted to check on people applying for jobs. The lawyer said that Zerwick thought he was protecting the firm and the country . . . . On granting "Axis Sally" (Mildred Gillars) her freedom after 12 years, the U.S. Parole Board said her prison record indicated she had "improved herself, especially in the areas of music and religion." . . . . David Vogenitz, drama instructor at

The GUARDIAN's Robert E. Light will be heard on FM station WBAI in New York (99.5) on Wed., May 24, at 7 p.m. The program, part of the station's commentary series offering varied political opinions, will be rebroadcast May 25 at 9:30 a.m.

Santa Ana High School in California, will teach English next year. The school board made the switch after parents complained that Vogenitz had students read Archibald MacLeish's play **J.B.** The parents said the play contains "blasphemous profanity." . . . . A San Francisco paper covering the trial at which Robert Meisenbach was acquitted of starting a riot at the Un-American committee hearings last year, reported: "Meisenbach said he stumbled on the wet marble and then stepped on a loose policeman's night club." The **Chronicle's** Herb Caen asked: "Open after hours?"

WANNA RENT A CASTLE? The Duke of Argyll advertised in London papers for a tenant for his 86-room castle in Scotland: $12,600 for six months. The ads said the deal included 20,000 acres of hunting land and a bagpiper . . . . The London **Daily Mail** reported that "television is losing its popularity—fast." A survey showed that the time people spent before the set dropped from 4.9 hours a day in January to 4.8 hours in February and 4.6 hours in March. An official of Television Audience Measurement said: "One must draw one's own conclusions." . . . . In London, Wolf Mankowitz, author and producer of **Belle**, a musical based on a Victorian passion killing, led six attractive young ladies carrying a small coffin to the office of the **Daily Express**. The coffin was addressed to drama critic Bernard Levin. Mankowitz said: "This is the moment we have all been waiting for, to send a midget coffin to a midget critic." Levin had written of the play: "A practically unsalvageable mess. Flat, with the flatness of flat champagne." Of the coffin, Levin said: "Send not to ask for whom the bell tolls." . . . . Strathearn Gordon, librarian at Britain's Parliament, revealed that nearly all books on sex at Westminster are kept under lock and key. He would not say exactly why, but he did report that 450 new books disappear every year.

London Daily Mail

BRITISH CAR SALESMEN, banned from U.S. bases, last month picketed the H-bomb base at Sculthorpe, Norfolk, carrying banners protesting the unfair competition. One Norfolk dealer said he had been ruined by the ban . . . . The London **Daily Express** reported that U.S. Air Force officials in Britain have had to hire wives of U.S. airmen for clerical jobs because Britons wouldn't take them. Although American jobs pay more and the hours are shorter than for jobs in British industry, **the Express** said: "Britons are reluctant to take them mainly because President Kennedy's dollar-saving decision to close certain overseas bases has raised doubts about the future of all the U.S. bases." . . . Radio station WBAI in New York (99.5 FM) will present a discussion on "Jews in the Soviet Union" by Moshe Decter of Jewish Minorities Research and Morris Schappes, editor of **Jewish Currents**, on May 22 at 9 p.m. The station is also offering a series of programs on Bertolt Brecht from May 17 to 28 . . . . The San Francisco **Chronicle** carried this delightful typographical error: "A Pan-American Boeing 707 jet set a new transpolar record of ten hours, 35 minutes from London to San Francisco State College."

—**Robert E. Light**

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Self-evident

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THE CISCO SPECIAL: Dark as a Dungeon; Badman Ballad; 900 Miles; Old Smoky; Big Rock Candy Mountain; Old Dan Tucker and others. ....**VRS 9059**

NEWPORT FOLK FESTIVAL, 1960, **Vol. 1**—Pete Seeger, John Lee Hooker, Alan Mills & Jean Carignan, Tom Makem. Jimmy Driftwood, New Lost City Ramblers. ....**VRS 9083**

VOL. 2 — CISCO HOUSTON, Bob Gibson & Bob Camp, Ed McCurdy, Ewan MacColl & Peggy Seeger, Lester Platt, Earl Scruggs & the Foggy Mountain Boys. ....**VRS 9084**

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NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

Two men in chains

FOR THE FAMILIES and friends of Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson, May Day 1961 will always have a special meaning. That was the day Frank and Carl surrendered to the U.S. Marshal in Atlanta, Ga., where May 1 is known as Law Day. An Atlanta **Journal** editorial said Law Day draws attention to "the virtues of the system under which we live."

Another irony was that Carl and Frank should be handcuffed for the trip from the Federal building to Atlanta's Fulton County jail. For these two battlers for civil rights and civil liberties long ago had decided to go to jail, if need be, in defense of the First Amendment. May 1 was the denouement of a long fight which began when they refused to answer House Un-American Activities Committee questions at hearings in Atlanta in 1958. The climax came when the Supreme Court upheld their contempt convictions by a 5 to 4 vote last February—with dissents by Justices Black, Douglas, Brennan and Warren.

Justice Black said the decision upholding their convictions "may well strip the Negro of the aid of any of the white people who have been willing to speak up in his behalf." This position was stirringly attested to by Negro leaders at a reception for Carl and Frank at Atlanta's Morehouse College the day before they surrendered, and by integration leaders at board meetings of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. At Morehouse Negro and white students and adults joined hands in a circle to sing **We Shall Overcome** as Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. said: "These two men are going to jail for us." Later he told a press conference that McCarthyism is on the rise in the South again "because all other weapons of the segregationists have failed."

AT THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE meeting, Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, Negro civil rights leader from Birmingham, Ala., said: "My regret is that the white people in Alabama don't understand the relationship between the fight for civil rights and the fight for civil liberties."

Aubrey Williams, Southern Conference chairman, had pointed out earlier: "Just as the Un-American Committee under Martin Dies set out to destroy the New Deal, so now the Un-American Committee moves in wherever people are trying to do good—in the integration movement, in the peace movement, in public housing, wherever there's a movement to help the people."

For Frank and Carl jail will not be an end to their efforts "to help the people." Carl said: "I shall fight to the last ditch until the prison door closes, and then I shall continue to fight from inside. For I have come to the conclusion that some of us are more valuable in jail than out, and I may be one of these." And Frank wrote from the county jail: "Ours is a stand for personal conscience against that which we know is wrong . . . If my expression of personal conscience has incidentally given focus on this problem to others, if it has helped to cause others to think and act, the sacrifice seems even more important and significant."

IN A LETTER to the New York Council to Abolish the Un-American Committee, Frank wrote: "I am learning about the persecuted 17th century Quakers from a book brought to me by the Atlanta Society of Friends. The Quaker let all the world know he was in prison and why. He did not suffer in silence. If one 'publisher of the truth,' as they were called, was unjustly imprisoned 'hundreds of fellow Quakers spoke out about it in the market places and meeting houses until the authorities were stirred and a release was made.'"

To Harvey O'Connor, who faces a court fight over a First Amendment challenge to the Un-American Committee, Frank wrote: "The great discovery so far is the amazing understanding and harsh compassion which develops between fellow prisoners. Within their collective personalities rests all the hope and sickness of our society . . . It's good enough to be here for conscience sake, but it's better if it causes others to think and act!"

The courage and integrity of Carl and Frank have had an impact on thousands, but on none more than on their children who have lived with bombings and threats and intimidation for most of their short lives while their parents struggled to help make life better for others. Frank's teen-age daughter, Jo, in one of her last letters to her father as he wound up a Los Angeles-to-Atlanta speaking tour, wrote: "I was just thinking how lots of people try to be something else because they don't like their parents, or something like this. So I was thinking about this and I've come to the very brilliant conclusion that I wouldn't want to be anybody else in the whole world. I wouldn't want to change any member of my family or any of my friends, even if it meant Pete Seeger. I think I am one of the most lucky girls in this big sick world and I wouldn't give myself up for anybody or anything."

PERHAPS THE BEST BALM for Frank and Carl during their imprisonment is the knowledge that their children understand. Jimmy Braden, 10, said as he accompanied his father to the Marshal's office: "The First Amendment means that Congress has no right at all to ask people about what they believe and the people they associate with. And that people have the right to assemble—with anybody they want to, that is."

To families and friends, to those in the integration movement and those fighting to abolish the Un-American Committee, Carl and Frank are exceptional and inspiring men. To Federal authorities they are simply prisoners. When they were moved on May 11 to the Federal prison at Greenville, S.C., a friend wrote: "Damn these Marshals! They don't know who Carl and Frank are. They restricted them with 'sally chains'—chains circling the waist and attached to the ankle—so they couldn't run!" —**Joanne Grant**